

List of Authors

Gionathan Lo Mascolo is a political scientist and author whose work currently focuses on the intersection of religion, far-right politics, and democratic erosion in Europe. As a consultant, he serves as a political advisor and program and advocacy manager for international and intergovernmental institutions, European political parties, and non-profit organizations. He worked as a war correspondent during the Arab Spring and the Syrian War and holds a BA in Intercultural Theology and Migration from FIT Hermannsburg, as well as an MA in Terrorism, Security, and Society from King's College London.

Zoltán Ádám is an associate professor in the Institute of Economics at Corvinus University of Budapest, where he teaches courses in economics and political economy. He holds a PhD in economics from Debrecen University, an MPhil in Political Science from Central European University, and a Master in Public Administration from Harvard Kennedy School. His research focuses on the political economy of institutional change with reference to the post-communist transition in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the rise of authoritarian populism in CEE and elsewhere. Formerly, he was a college teacher in East European Economics at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at University College London and a visiting scholar at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University. In 2020–2022, he headed the Department of Economic Policy and Labor Economics at Corvinus.

Ana Raluca Alecu is an independent researcher and journalist, who in recent years has published and lectured extensively on topics such as nationalism, anti-gender campaigns in Eastern Europe, religion, and education. She earned a PhD in Philosophy at the University of Bucharest, Romania, and completed a postdoctoral fellowship at the National University of Political Studies and

Public Administration, Bucharest. Her publications include “National Heroes, Martyrs of the Faith and Martyrs of the People: Mixing Political and Religious Discourse in the Post-Communist Romanian Orthodox Religious Education Textbooks” in *Orthodox Religion and Politics in Contemporary Eastern Europe* (Routledge, 2018) and “Romania” in *Balancing Freedom, Autonomy, and Accountability in Education* (Volume 2, Wolf Legal Publishers [WLP], 2012).

Milda Ališauskienė is Professor of Sociology at Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania. Her research interests include religion in post-socialist societies religion and state relations, religious diversity, religious fundamentalism, new religions, and gender and religion. She has published more than 30 social scientific research articles on religion in contemporary Lithuania and the Baltic States and contributed to collective monographs and studies on the social exclusion of minority religions and the process of secularization in Lithuania. Together with Ingo W. Schroeder, she co-edited the volume *Religious Diversity in Post-Soviet Society* (Ashgate, 2011). In 2017 and in 2021, she was a guest editor (in 2021, together with Edward Irons) of *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* special issues on new religions in Eastern Europe and religious leadership in new religions. She is the principal investigator in the research project “Religion and Gender Equality: Baltic and Nordic Developments.”

José Barrera-Blanco is a predoctoral fellow and lecturer-in-training in the Social Anthropology Department at the Complutense University of Madrid. His main research lines are religious diversity, gender politics, and social movements, focusing on religious discourses, practices, and resistances around sexual and gender diversity. He is conducting a PhD on LGBTIQ+ Christian communities and anti-gender mobilizations of Spanish Catholicism. During the last years, he has also researched the impacts of COVID-19 on religious minorities in Spain, co-authoring the report *El impacto de la crisis del COVID-19 en las minorías religiosas en España: desafíos para un escenario futuro* (Observatorio del pluralismo religioso en España, 2022), funded by the Pluralismo y Convivencia foundation of the Spanish Government. He is a member of the research group Anthropology, Diversity and Integration (GINADYC).

András Bozóki is Professor of Political Science at the Central European University in Vienna and at the CEU Democracy Institute. He earned his Ph. D. in Political Science at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1992. He has received

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Denys Brylov is Head of the European Centre for Strategic Analytics. He is a psychologist and anthropologist of religion, with a doctor of philosophical sciences (DSc) in religious studies and theology. He is a senior researcher of the A. Krymskiy Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and visiting research fellow of the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO). Since 2014, following the outbreak of the Ukrainian–Russian conflict, he has been involved in projects aimed at developing a culture of dialogue involving religious and secular leaders in small territorial communities in Ukraine, with the goals of identifying and transforming the religious component in the Ukrainian–Russian conflict. His main academic interests are religious factors in conflicts, religion and nationalism, political activism in Islam, and transnational Islamic movements. He has authored some 80 publications in Ukrainian, Danish, Polish, German, French, English, and Russian.

Monica Cornejo-Valle is an associate professor in the Social Anthropology Department of the Complutense University of Madrid. She is the director of the research group Anthropology, Diversity and Integration. She has studied popular Catholicism as well as contemporary spiritualities and health, religion in public spaces, and religious controversies about sexual and reproductive rights. She is the author and editor of several books (e.g., *The Anthropological Construction of Religion* [2008] and *Emerging Theories and Practices in Anthropology of Religion* [2008]), and she is a contributor to many others (e.g., *Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe* [Rowman & Littlefield, 2017], *Invention of Tradition and Syncretism in Contemporary Religions* [Palgrave, 2017], and *Gender and Power in Contemporary Spirituality* [Routledge, 2013]). She also authored several papers in scientific journals and conference publications.

Tobias Cremer is a Junior Research Fellow at Pembroke College and an Associate Member of the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford. His research focuses on the relationship between religion, secularisation, and the rise of right-wing identity politics. He holds a PhD in politics and international relations from the University of Cambridge, an MPP from Harvard Kennedy School, where he was a McCloy Fellow, an MPhil in politics and international studies from Cambridge University, and a BA in politics, philosophy, and economics from Sciences Po, Paris. Among his most recent books are *The Godless Crusade: Religion, Populism and Right-Wing Identity Politics in the West* (Cambridge University Press, 2023) and *Faith, Nationalism and the Future of Liberal Democracy* (co-authored; Notre Dame University Press, 2021).

Neil Datta has been at the helm of the European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights since 2004. Neil founded the organisation with a select group of parliamentarians and with the support of IPPF in 2000, and has been responsible for its growth to its current membership of over 30 all-party parliamentary groups on population and development issues. Neil has over fifteen years' experience in the field of political involvement in population and development. He has conducted in-depth research on anti-choice activity in Europe, publishing several reports that continue to receive worldwide media attention. Before founding EPF, Neil coordinated the Parliamentary Programme of the International Planned Parenthood Federation European Network. Neil holds a Master's Degree in European Public Administration from the College of Europe in Bruges and a Bachelor of Arts in History and Languages from the State University of New York at Binghamton. Neil holds five nationalities and is bilingual in English and French.

Regina Elsner is a theologian and, since April 2023, appointed professor for Eastern Churches and Ecumenical Studies at the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Münster. From 1998 to 2005, she studied Catholic Theology in Berlin and Münster. Afterwards, she worked until 2010 as a project coordinator for Caritas Russia in St. Petersburg. From 2010 to 2013, she was a research associate at the Ecumenical Institute of the University of Münster, within the research stream 'Institutions and Institutional Change in Post-Socialism', where she finished her doctoral thesis on Russian Orthodoxy and modernity. She was a researcher at the Center for East European and International Studies ZOIS (Berlin) from 2017 to 2023 and continues to be a

research affiliate at ZOiS. Her research and publications focus on the dynamics of Orthodox social ethics in Eastern Europe since the dissolution of the Soviet Union with a special attention on peace ethics and the role of Orthodox Churches in social conflict and the gender discourse.

Zoran Grozdanov is an associate professor at the University Center for Protestant Theology, University of Zagreb, Croatia. He teaches courses in philosophy and systematic theology. Recently, he has published “From Incarnation to Identity: The Theological Background of National–Populist Politics in the Western Balkans” in Joshua Ralston and Ulrich Schmiedel (Eds.), *The Spirit of Populism: Political Theologies in Polarized Times* (Brill, 2022), and he has co-edited (with Stipe Odak) the volume *Balkan Contextual Theology: An Introduction* (Routledge, 2022).

Anne Guillard is carrying out postdoctoral research at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy) and the University of Oxford (United Kingdom), funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Her research focuses on the political theory of public reason and the religious claims to integrate it. She explores the use of religious experiences and Christian references in public discourse. She thus analyzes the underlying types of political theology mobilized by political and religious leaders in France, Italy, and Hungary. She holds a double doctorate in political theory from Sciences Po, Paris (France) and Christian theology from the University of Geneva (Switzerland).

Andrea C. Hatcher is Alfred Walter Negley Professor of Politics at The University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, USA. She teaches courses in American political institutions, constitutional law, and religion and politics. She earned her PhD at Vanderbilt University where she trained in the study of Congress. Her book *Majority Leadership in the U.S. Senate: Balancing Constraints* (Cambridge Press, 2010) is the first comprehensive study of the office of Senate Majority Leader. Her research has turned to religion and politics, particularly the comparative political behaviors of American and British Evangelicals, on which she has published *Political and Religious Identities of British Evangelicals* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). She is working to update her previous research with the rise of Euro-American Christian nationalism in a post-Brexit, post-Trump era. Her most recent publication presents research on how American Evangelical leaders framed the insurrection attempt of January 6, 2021 (“How to Frame

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Hans Morgen Haugen works as Professor of International Diakonia at VID Specialized University, Oslo, Norway. He has written on inclusive development, human rights, international economic law, and Scandinavian churches, particularly the Church of Norway’s communication with the public realm. In 2022, he defended his Dr.Philos dissertation (political science) at the University of Oslo on Scandinavian majority churches’ role in the immigration and integration public debate. The most recent article in the dissertation is titled “Norwegian Christian Leaders: The Term ‘Christian Values’ Is Divisive and Useless.” His other articles analyze the Danish People’s Party’s linkages to Tidehverv magazine, the Sweden Democrats’ stronger Christian heritage rhetoric, and warnings by Church of Norway leaders against the Norwegian Progress Party, including an analysis of this party’s programs and other forms of communication. A fifth article finds that devout youth in the Church of Norway are not negative toward people with other religious affiliations.

Anja Hennig is a postdoctoral researcher at the Chair for Comparative Politics at European University Viadrina. Her research area is comparative politics, with particular emphasis on the relationship between religion and politics. She focuses on the topics of morality politics (abortion, gay rights, and bioethics), the radical right, and gender issues. In more general terms, she analyzes arenas where liberalism is contested. This also includes memory politics. Her regional focus is on East Central Europe, particularly Poland. Among her most recent publications are “Illiberal Cultural Christianity? European Identity Constructions and Anti-Muslim Politics” (with Oliver F. Hidalgo; *Religions* 12(9), 774, 2021); the co-edited volume (with Mirjam Weiberg-Salzmann) *Illiberal Politics and Religion: Concepts, Actors, and Identity Narratives* (Campus/Chicago University Press, 2021); and “Political Genderphobia in Europe: Accounting for Right-Wing Political–Religious Alliances against Gender-Sensitive Education Reforms since 2012” (*Zeitschrift für Religion, Gesellschaft und Politik* 2(2), 193–219, 2018).

Evelina Juchnevičiūtė is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania. In her dissertation, she is researching Lithuania’s Christian-Right movement and its discourse on LGBTIQ+ and women’s rights. Her areas of interest include relations between religion and

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Tetiana Kalenychenko has a PhD in sociology of religion. Her thesis focused on religious components in the socio-political conflict in Ukraine during 2013–2017. Together with other colleagues, she has created an initiative called Dialogue in Action, which aims to develop a culture of dialogue in territorial communities in Ukraine, uniting secular and religious leaders in the field-work. She is co-founder of the NGO European Center for Strategic Analytics, and she works in the field of conflict transformation, conflict sensitive planning (do no harm), and peacebuilding as a national advisor for the Peaceful Change Initiative (London) and as a dialogue facilitator for national and international organizations. Her main interests are sociology of religion, conflict studies, peacebuilding, and reconciliation.

George Kordas is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science and History at Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences. He completed his undergraduate studies in the Department of Political Science and History at Panteion University, and he holds a master's degree in political sociology from the same department. Since 2016, he has been a scientific associate of the Centre of Political Research in the Department of Political Science and History. In his dissertation, using qualitative methodology, he studies how the discourse of MEPs affected European values during the refugee and migration crisis period, with a special focus on the far right's MEPs. His research interests include the comparative study of the far right in Southeastern Europe and the far right's subcultures. He has published in Greek and international journals and collected volumes. Most recently, he participated in the FES Athens publication *The Greek Political Landscape 2019–2021*.

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Astrid Mattes is a tenure track professor in Social Scientific Research on Religion at the University of Vienna. She studied political science and religious studies in Vienna and Limerick and wrote her PhD thesis on the roles of religion in integration politics. Between 2010 and 2018, she worked as a researcher at the University of Vienna and was involved in different research programs on the mapping of religions in Vienna and the politics of inclusion and exclusion. From 2018 to 2022, she worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in various European projects and led a project on youth religiosity. Her research focuses on questions of religious belonging, the governance of (religious) diversity, political aspects of Christianity and Islam in Europe, and the intersection of migration and religion.

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Gintarė Pocė is a researcher and lecturer at Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania. In 2020, she defended her dissertation in the field of sociology, entitled *Religion and Media in Lithuania: Features of the Discourse on Religious Diversity in 1990–2015*. Her research interests are religion–media relations, religious diversity, and religion and gender studies.

Massimo Prearo is a political scientist and a member and scientific coordinator of the research center PoliteSse: Politics and Theories of Sexuality at the University of Verona (Italy). He has published two volumes in the field of LGBTIQA+ movement studies: *Le moment politique de l'homosexualité: Mouvements, identités et communautés en France* (PUL, 2014) and *La fabbrica dell'orgoglio: Una genealogia dei movimenti LGBT* (Edizioni ETS, 2015). With Sara Garbagnoli, he co-authored *La croisade anti-gender: Du Vatican aux manif pour tous* (Textuel, 2017, in Italian: Kaplan, 2018). His new book, *L'ipotesi neo-cattolica: Politologia dei movimenti anti-gender* (Mimesis, 2020), will soon be published in both French and English.

Přemysl Rosůlek studied political science at the Masaryk University in Brno (1992–1998) in the Czech Republic and at Charles University in Prague (2001–2005), where he received his PhD after defending his thesis on Albanians in Macedonia (2005). Later, he obtained his habilitation in the field of political theory (ethics of secession) at the Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovakia (2014). He is an associate professor at the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, the Czech Republic. His research is aimed at identities, including nationalism and secessionism, Islamophobia, xenophobia and media and politics, including social media and political marketing. In his recent publications, he focuses on Islamophobia, nationalism, othering others, and the ethics of secession, including referendums.

Alessio Scopelliti is a political scientist and postdoc at the University of Milan. His fellowship involves undertaking research under the supervision of Prof. Andrea Ceron as part of the research program DEMOPE: Democracy under Pressure. He is also a research assistant at the Royal Holloway University of London as part of Prof. Joost van Spanje's ERC Consolidator Grant project "New Parties on the News." He works on European and Italian politics, with a focus on populist and far right-wing parties, social media, and text analysis. He has recently published in *Soft Politics* and contributed to *Populism and Far-right: Trends in Europe* (Polidemos). He is currently working on a book entitled *The Rise of the Radical Right in Italy* (Ibidem/Columbia University Press) with A. V. Bruno and J. F. Downes.

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Pavlo Smytsnyuk is a Mary Seeger O'Boyle Associate Research Scholar at Princeton University, USA. He specializes in political theology, modern Greek and Slavic Orthodoxy, and religious nationalism. He studied philosophy and theology in Rome, Athens, and St. Petersburg and has a doctorate from the University Oxford. From 2019 to 2022, he was the director of the Institute of Ecumenical Studies and a senior lecturer at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Ukraine. He has published on issues such as comparative theology, ecumenical dialogue, and religious approaches to tolerance, war, and the ecological crisis. Since 2021, he has been a member of the State Department's Advisory Council of Religions and Ethnicities at Ukraine's Ministry of Culture and Information, leading a number of international projects on peacebuilding and international humanitarian law.

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Sonja Angelika Strube is a graduated and habilitated Catholic theologian, a private lecturer in pastoral theology and religious education at the University of Osnabrück, and currently a research assistant at the Institute for Catholic Theology at the University of Landau. Since 2011, she has been researching the Christian Right in Germany and Europe, the radical right's approach to Christian issues, and anti-genderism. She co-edited (with Rita Perintfalvi, Raphaela Hemet, Miriam Metze, and Cicek Sahbaz) the anthology *Anti-Genderismus in Europa* (transcript, 2021).

Mariëtta D. C. van der Tol is Alfred Landecker Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford. Her research interests include the relationship between religion, politics, and society and the role that political imaginaries play in the formation of law and public policy with regard to (ethno)religious minorities in Europe. She leads two international networking projects: "Religion, Ethnicity and Politics in German, Dutch and Anglo-American contexts: Nationalism and the Future of Democracy" at the University of Cambridge and "Protestant Political Thought: Religion, State, Nation" at the University of Oxford.

Barbara Urbanic studied religious studies and history in Vienna and Tübingen. Her master's thesis on millennialist beliefs among Evangelical Christians in the US and her interest in feminist politics have led to ongoing research on the Christian Right in Austria, especially regarding its anti-genderism. She works in academic administration.

Nebojša Zelič is an assistant professor in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Rijeka, Croatia. He is also head of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Rijeka. He has published articles in various journals on political legitimacy, distributive justice, immigration, and the role of religion in the public sphere.

Gionathan Lo Mascolo is a political scientist and author whose work currently focuses on the intersection of religion, far-right politics, and democratic erosion in Europe. As a consultant, he serves as a political advisor and program and advocacy manager for international and intergovernmental institutions, European political parties, and non-profit organizations. He worked as a war correspondent during the Arab Spring and the Syrian War and holds a BA in Intercultural Theology and Migration from FIT Hermannsburg, as well as an MA in Terrorism, Security, and Society from King's College London.

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